

TO THE PEOPLE OF
After having labored for

of the nation and consulted of
at once the sentiment of the
profound affection for the
country impelled that the
clear to the People that the
dependent men, jealous
national greatness, to con-
sist the unwilling invasion
unrestrained patronage
the lines of destructive war
liberty and dignity of the
Dearly impressed with
tion of revolution, which
ed exclusively to the sup-
posedly less vigorous of
age derived from the con-
million of men, and the
favors to control the re-
favor of the Supreme Court
only threatening to the
tution we declare that
which has now acquired
the concentration of time
hered to in the approach
declare that we do not
essential
Convention the prox-
interested influences of
the centre of

vocation, the corrupting
 been and inevitably will
 the people to assemble
 tion of being able to deli-
 vined, as we are, that the
 cumstances in which the
 is the energy and good
 general safety can be for-
 woe to consult it is to in-
 which every one may go
 ture of means and time, af-
 fable, far from all adminis-
 fully and deliberate peo-
 the greatest possible num-
 principles guarantee their
 vation to the rights of the
 tion of the true basis of
 earnestly invite our fel-
 land, Ohio, on Saturday,
 for consultation and conc-
 approaching Presidential

PETE GILLEN, " "
WEN. HERRICKS, " "
K. HERRICK, Mass.
S. P. DYMORSE, Dist. of Col.
L. SHEROLD, Iowa.
E. M. DAVIS, Pa.
FRED. KAPP, New York.
ERNEST PRUSSING, Illinois.
JOHN J. SAVERY, New York.
HAIL PRETORIUS, Missouri.
ERNEST SCHMIDT, Illinois.
WALTER H. SHUFF, Ohio.
P. W. KENTON, New York.
FR. STOFFELBIEN, " "
JAMES S. THOMAS, Missouri.
J. QUINCY WESTBROOK, Me.
and THEO. OLSEN

LETTER FROM V.
JUDGE STALLO:—Dec
judgment as to the coura
candidate for the Presid
to sign a call for a Cou
meet at Cleveland; in Ma
Let me tell you the na
Subdue the South as r
ment territory comes t
States thus: confiscate a
extend the right of suff

white and black; let them prohibit slavery throughout the States to make any distinction on account of color or race. I shall make every effort to succeed. Believing that the Union is sacred, and that it shall be obliged either to the Confederacy or to reconquer it, I shall not shrink from any course to result in another unpledged and independent position, to consider public Presidency a Statesman's duty. Yours, faithfully,

**CONDITION OF THE
ED FROM**

It was announced, so number of the Union from Richmond, had been in Baltimore, for medical of the Philadelphia Inquirer, describes the condition

"I had numerous inter prisoners, all of whom fairly educated. One ven Daniel Spear, from East of age, has been incarcerated; or in other words man, and loved his country

Not content with depriving his wife and

Another one told me that 24, in Richmond, whilst eighty prisoners brought alive, five hundred and fifty in the same time.

Sergeant Thomas James, Sixth army, who acted as the same hospital, from the 1st of March, says that of two in that time, there were fourteen hundred deaths.

could have been saved w
In Belle Island the au
saw many—a dozen or m
gers, hands and toes froz
the weather in this de
freezing entire they were
dashed together, and char
got warm and those out
the dead and dying, grew
prayed for a hastening of
was no uncommon thing
and fifty dead bodies car
held them strewn around
males.

Dogs and rats were c
furred, and eaten by pris
moreels, and an old bone
as a delicacy. What beca
sions sent from home, pri
sions, confined here, coul
them at times eagerly d
sires.

I heard many tales of
unhappy

ers, all of which, together and haggard looks, could tell that they have been from seeing, and know w

MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT, the 28th inst., the 54th Regiment, gained for themselves a place of honor in the department. On the occasion when the rebels launched their evident view of passing the side of Morris Island, in connection with reference to that locality.

The night was quite unfavorable for the design. But as luck was on their side, the picket duty was

terest of the rebels, and
rickety skulls, they were
lenged by a detachment
a satisfactory response,
their oars by our picked
readily complied, and, as
it was not long before
prisoners of war.—Port

"A steamer loaded from above; not a ple there are many maimed, ragged and dirty boys not but be surprised at here. Quartermaster his force of laborers each having but one c; ed for!"

THE EXPERIMENT OF FREE LABOR

LETTER TO A FRIEND

31 INDIA ST. BOSTON, May 2, 1864.
DEAR SIR—Your note of April 30th is before me and I must thank you for your hearty expression of confidence in me. But I think you place too great stress upon my *good intentions* in regard to the welfare of the blacks—I, e., I do not regard the philanthropic motives of the employer as of so much importance in the long run, as various other things, in elevating

the condition of the negro; for on a large scale, it can not be depended upon. If people would read a little to the *Evening Star*, they would find that the first step was to be taken in the direction of a policy by which the blacks may come into possession of lands just as fast as they can pay a fair market price for them, and enter into their new position on the same footing as a white settler. In short, I think that any policy which discriminates between the two races, in favor of either will be productive of mischief, by keeping wide of the social breach created by the slave system. Such a discriminating policy, if in favor of the black, is only to make a pet of him, and thus to keep him, in the eyes of the people, in the position of a beggar, and to make him more odious than he would be if he were contented to let him alone. The objections to the land policy in the Royal were founded on the above conviction; for the policy discriminated in favor of a certain number of groes, allowing them a chance to buy, at a nominal price, about four times as much land as they could actually improve with their own hands, while at the same time it left a large majority of the negroes provided for. These few who got the land took it in speculation, and sold it at a profit, working one fourth of the land, while the rest were not working one

me, and I think the same

It seems to me, and I think the same view would be taken by any practical man who has had much to do with the negro, that the negro is the best material to work with in the course with laboring classes, that *Industry* is the greatest asset of the negro, and by far the most efficient engine to be used for the elevation of the negro. In his present condition, industry has never been cultivated one bit more than in the white man. His intellect is not more than that of the white man. His will has been almost exclusively trained to the service of the white man. He is employed, for generations back, in devising means to get the most out of his white employer. He is a hard-shirk laborer, for his labor was never rewarded *pro rata* for the service he rendered. Thus he has become a confirmed shirker, and the negro is not to be shaken off in a hurry. Any system of labor by which he can be put at once on his own responsibility, and be required to provide for himself, will be the best. He will be able to do it at the same time paying him exactly in proportion to the amount of labor actually performed, will be the surest way to develop habits of industry, and get rid of the degrading effects of compulsion and restriction. I believe that the best way to do this is to give the negro the Port Royal system far better than any system by which the laborer is paid for his time by the month. The very moment he sells his time to the negro begins to devise means of spending his time with as little exertion as possible; and, as mentioned above, the negro has had an education which renders him very expert in this thing. The very strongest incentive to exertion that can be devised is to let the negro have an interest in the land; to give him a man has sufficient capital to live on and raise a crop for sale, and provided he has sufficient confidence in the future to work for a distant reward, and sufficient knowledge and appreciation of the uses of civilized society to live at peace with his neighbor, and respect his neighbor's rights. In the particular, the negro of the Sea Islands is sadly deficient, but not incapable of improvement. There are instances which are only exceptional. There are instances which are the result of what I believe to be the best system of management. There are instances for these instances are taken from the most intelligent and self-reliant negroes, whose natural abilities and former experience as drivers or foremen have given them constant intercourse with white men, and thereby raised them above the general level of their race.

session of the land is the

If the possession of the land is the strongest incentive to industry, it should also be regarded as the highest boon, next to citizenship, which a man can acquire in society. It should, therefore, not be indiscriminately given away, but held as the reward of self-imposed exertion. The negro should not be allowed to buy land to the exclusion of whites, any more than the white to the exclusion of the negro. To do so should both have a fair chance in the race, on the same footing; and then the negro will soon show himself not only capable of earning his honest bread, but becoming a citizen too; and I have confidence that this will be granted him in time. Public opinion has already undergone vast changes in regard to the qualifications and deserts of the negro within two years, and, I trust, end by giving him all his rights.

The friends of the negro have, in my opinion, made a mistake in wishing to make special enactments in his favor. They thus not only tend to defeat their ends, but they raise to an active condition against him the degree of odium among men who might otherwise have lain alone, but, by petting the negro himself, tend to deteriorate him by removing from his shoulders the burden of the world which I verily believe God has parted him to bear—viz., the free responsibility of working for his living on an equal footing with other men.

...s rights were respect

If the negro's rights were respected far as to allow him to enter the race fairly, and guarantee pay for his labor at market rate, the enormous competition for that labor, which is sure to rise throughout the South as soon as property is protected, will, I think, be a sufficient security against his being oppressed by his employers for a long time to come. In the meantime, he will be steadily advancing in intelligence, and acquiring capital in money earned, which he gradually qualifies himself to become a landholder; and he should have the same opportunity, now, and always, to become such, which is right to other men—no more and no less.

This healthy competition for labor among capital cannot be checked. It is just as sure to come as next summer's sun wherever and as fast as the war is rolled back, and the arts of peace succeeded.

It has been my object, while in South Carolina, to bring before the world facts to prove that the negro could be economically employed on a fair commercial basis as a free laborer, in order to stimulate at the earliest practicable date such a competition among employers as would ensure him fair wages. The lands were bought and have been worked with object in view; and, so far, the experiment has been successful in proving that free labor is cheaper than slave labor.

The ultimate disposition of the lands has not been determined upon, any further than by the first intention of all concerned to so dispose of them as to conduce to the best interests of the whole community when the time shall come. There are several gentlemen interested in them, besides myself, who are of the ultimate welfare of that little colony as of of importance than the pecuniary profits arising from them; and I hope that our eyes may not be blinded by any selfish motives in disposing of this land.

We feel confident that the time has not yet come when the interests of the negro can be best served by selling all the land to them, and will not come so long as they are surrounded by an armed and powerful enemy, with no law but martial law to protect them, and with the title of the seller to the land still impending. I am not aware that I have ever committed myself to any definite plans for disposing of this land; for I have not been able to digest or mature any plan satisfactory to myself. But I feel a great responsibility so managing the concern that the trust and best interests of the community may be served thereby; and if I make a mistake, I hope it will be pardoned.

It must be remembered that there are other rights to be guarded besides those of the laboring classes, and while guarding them, care should be taken not to infringe upon these others. It should also be remembered that any great industrial experiment, in order to be a complete success, should pay the capital for loss incurred, and a fair profit for its use, as well as a fair rate of wages to the laborer. Moreover, I consider that whatever policy is most profitable to the employer will also be most profitable to the employed, and

have stood like walls of adamant against the shocks of rebel columns at Malvern Hill and Cemetery Ridge, and they have swept like tornadoes on the foe at the Antietam bridge and on the wooded heights of Gettysburg.

The bright sunshine gleams from their bayonets. Above them wave their standards tattered by the winds, torn by cannon ball and rifle shot, stained by the blood of dying heroes. They are precious treasures—more beloved than houses or lands, riches, honors, ease, comfort, or wife or children. Ask the battle-scarred soldier what he loves best on earth, and he will have but one answer—his regiment.

I read upon those banners as they flutter in the breeze—"Bull Run, Bull's Bluff, Rantap, Newbern, Gainesville, Mechanicsville, Seven Pines, Antietam, South Mountain, Knoxville, Gettysburg, Fort Hudson, Gettysburg"—all slain and defaced that I cannot read them.

There is an advancing crowd. The streets are lined with men, women and children. The Senators have left their chambers, and the members of the House of Representatives have taken a stroll as they pass through the representatives of their country once more as they pass through the streets.

There is the steady thrumming of the thousands, the deep heavy roar of the bugles, the clanking of sabres, the drum beating, the beating of the music of the military bands. Far away in the distance, the clanking of armor and roofs are occupied by the people. Upon the balcony of the hotel is their corps commander, Gen. Burnside, and by his side the President of the United States, pale, anxious, returning the salutes of the officers and acknowledging the cheers of the soldiers.

A division of veterans pass. And now, with full ranks, platoons, companies, and regiments, the veterans, with their arms, are marching in review.

They never had a country till the tall man on the balcony, so pale and worn, gave them one.

Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!" There is a swing-

kerchiefs and banners. There are no cheer more lusty than those given by the recruits of the 48th; there are no responses more hearty than those in return from the admiring multitude. Regiment after regiment of stalwart men—slaves once, but freemen now, with steady step, closed up file and rank, pass by, and the cheering grows more Virginia to certain victory, or certain death; while I write, there come the news of the capture of Plymouth, and fresh from the telegraph and press are the sickening details of the massacre at Fort Pillow.

"Such is the scene. They have gone. The crowd has dispersed, but the event of the day remains. For the first time, the President of the United States has reviewed a division of the corps d'Armée. It is a fact in history to remain forever. He gave them freedom, he recognizes them as soldiers. Will he protect them? The question comes up. Is it a demand for the President to protect the President must answer it, or the soldiers will. The law will be blood for blood, life for life, no prison. As the troops halt by the road-side, and read the account of the massacres at Fort Pillow and Plymouth, you can see the clenched teeth, you hear the oath

Not only among the soldiers, but among the citizens

you see and hear the determination to have retaliation.

The government must take immediate action, or its future-battle fields will be terrible scenes of vengeance. Our savage for in his late war has placed himself in a position which must soon alienate the sympathies of those who have hitherto supplied him with arms and ammunition. He has placed himself outside the pale of civilization. We cannot afford to follow. Let the Government, and not the common soldier, take retaliation, for he will be in a position to retaliate on the nations, and let the nations be terrible and sure. There must be no hesitation. I write from observation. If the government does not take retaliation, the soldiers will.

CARLETON.

BURIAL OF A COLORED SOLDIER.

Correspondence of the New York Tribune.

PHILADELPHIA, April 29, 1864.

A novel and interesting fact occurred in this city yesterday. Military ceremonies and honors were paid, for the first time in this city, to the remains of a colored man. Sergeant Major Bridges Feis of the 28th Colored Infantry was buried with military honors due his rank.

James Forten, the father of the deceased, was long known in this city, and respected by all the business community with whom he came in contact. He was a friend of the late Louis Copley and Stephen Girard. The prison ship of 1776 was his residence for a few years, and he was an impartial friend of the country from a loyal and earnest desire of liberty in the infancy of our nation. While in London doing business, where the prejudice of color would not prevent a man of the highest culture of

every respect from advancing, he heard the call of his native country for her sons of color to rally for

the defence of the "Old Flag." In it they recognized a call for the lovers of Freedom to do their duty now in the "trial-day" of its existence. Every man of the race, was about to die, and Mr. Fifteen left lucrative business and enjoyment in England, to do what he could to help them in their hour of need. He had seen them in the hands of the slave, he against the advice of friends enlisted in the ranks when he found that there was no higher position for him, though he had been a character and educator of his race. He had been a slave, he had seen him in the position of a field officer, at least, in any of the volunteer regiments. His country, he said, asked her colored citizens to rally for her defence, and those of them who had been blessed with education should do so for their motive, in responding to the call of the country. He was now responding to the call of the 43rd, and was immediately made Captain-Major, and ordered to report to Col. S. B. Cowman, chief mustering and recruiting officer for the colored troops in the State of Maryland. In the many speeches he made to those of his race in Baltimore, so full of courage and true christianity, he in a measure contributed to the great success which has attended Col. Cowman's efforts during the last two months. That officer, in reporting to the Philadelphia Superior and gentlemanly committee, addressed him as a soldier and a gentleman. His last day of performance was a noble and true one. When sickness set in, it was soon seen that his mind was near, as his constitution seemed to rally up by his prolonged labors. He died of erysipelas. His wife and one son are in London, and his daughter is a teacher in the camp of the 43rd. Appropriate remarks were made at his residence by J. Miller McKim, Esq., long known as Secretary of the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society; Thomas Webster, Esq., Chairman of the Supervisory Committee for the recruiting of Colored Troops, and by Mrs. Lucretia Matt. The funeral was escorted to St. Thomas Church, on Fifth, below Walnut street, by a cortege of sixteen of his late comrades, and concluded by a Sergeant. Following in the long and respectable train were many prominent citizens and a large number of commissioned officers. The funeral was a most impressive for a noble and devoted friend of his race. After the rites in the church, his remains were deposited in the family vault in the cemetery and wondering thousands. Three valley streets of Sergeant-Miller.

which were fired over the city was a major Forten in the heart of this great city P. E. G.

non not to be forgotten.

VALUABLE PUBLICATION.

PROCEEDINGS of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at its Third General, held in the City of Philadelphia, Dec. 30 and 31, 1843. With an Address, and a Collection of the Anti-Slavery Publications in America, from 1787 to 1843. This is an octavo pamphlet of 175 pages, and is published and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street, Boston. Price, *Five Cents.*

May 6. **BOARDING.**

MRS. R. A. SMITH would inform her friends and the public generally, that she has taken home No. 21, South Street, Boston, where Board, transient and permanent, may be obtained on reasonable terms. A class of pupils will be qualified.

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